1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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When a husband dies his widow may marry again if she wishes. As a rule I believe that it is not considered fitting that she should take another husband before the end of her mourning for her former one. Mr Man says "it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement[1]." I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death.

Mr Man speaks of a custom "which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime), while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will. It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower[2]."

I was not able to come across a case in which a man had actually married his elder brother's widow in recent years. The natives whom I questioned confirmed Mr Man's statement, which, moreover, was based on at least one instance known to him as having occurred. It may be noted that in his description of this instance Mr Man says that the woman married her husband's "brother or cousin," leaving us in doubt as to which of these two relatives it really was. There is an ambiguity in the use of the term "younger brother," for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply "younger brother," but only such terms as *ot-arai-čulute* and the equivalents in other languages, which apply to any younger person, whether actually a brother or cousin or not.

The recent changes in the social life of the Andamanese render it difficult to determine what was the former practice in matters of this sort, but I believe that the custom was this, that when a man of a local group died the older men selected one of the unmarried men and required him to marry the widow. They selected a man who was younger than the deceased, that is who was his *ot-arai-čulute*, and gave the preference to an unmarried younger brother if there were one, or to a relative of the deceased, such as a father's brother's son.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*

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764 arrows are placed on the grave. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe a harpoon and line are substituted for the bow and arrows, and a bamboo harpoon shaft is erected vertically in the grave near the right hand of the body. In the same tribe it is usual to suspend near the grave a bundle of the prepared fibre of *Anadendron paniculatum* such as is used for making thread. There are probably slight variations of custom in this respect in different tribes or even in different cases in the same tribe.

In the case of platform-burial a platform of sticks is erected in a tree, twelve feet or so above the ground, and the body is placed thereon, lying sideways facing the east. Water and fire are placed beneath the tree. Mr Man states that in cases of tree-burial they are careful not to select a fruit tree or one of a species used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows and other implements. Such natives as I questioned on this point said that this was not so and that they would use any suitable tree whether one that was useful or not. I was unable definitely to prove the point, as I did not see a single instance of tree-burial during my stay in the islands. A tree that is sometimes used for this purpose is the *Ficus laccifera*, which as we have seen has a special connection with the spirits of new-born children. On the coast, mangrove trees, such as the *Rhizophora* or *Bruguiera*, are said to be used.

765 When the burial is completed, whether in a grave or a tree, plumes made of shredded palm-leaf stem *koro* (*Aka-Jeru*) or *ara* (*Aka-Bea*) are attached near the graves to the branches of trees or shrubs or to sticks put up for the purpose. This is done, it is said, to show any native, who might inadvertently approach, that there has been a burial at the spot. The undergrowth is cleared for a short distance round the grave.

The men then return to the camp, where the women have been busy packing up all belongings. Plumes of shredded palm-leaf stem (*koro*) are put up at the entrance to the camp, to show chance visitors that there has been a death. The camp is then deserted, the natives moving to some other camping ground until the period of mourning is over, when they may, if they wish, return to the deserted village. No one goes near the grave again until the period of mourning is over.

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In the case of very young children the burial ceremony is different. There is no general mourning of the whole camp. Only the father and mother and a few other relatives weep over the dead body. The head of the corpse is shaved and the body is decorated in the same way as that of an adult. The body is wrapped up in palm leaves (*Licuala*), the limbs being flexed. The fire is then removed from its customary place and a grave is dug there in the floor of the hut. In this the child's body is placed, the grave is filled in and the fire replaced above it. Not only is the camp not deserted, but there seems to be an obligation on the parents not to leave the place until the bones have been dug up, or at any rate for some weeks after the death. If the mother went away, the natives say, the baby would cry for its mother's milk. This is the custom of the Northern tribes. Referring to the Southern tribes, Mr Man says that the baby is buried beneath the fireplace and the camp is then deserted, the mother placing beside the grave a shell containing some milk squeezed from her breasts. Some of my informants of the Southern tribes (*Akar-Bale*, etc.) told me however that the camp would not be deserted in the case of the death of an infant, thus contradicting Mr Man's statement. As there was no opportunity of testing the point by reference to an actual case, it must be left as doubtful. In the Northern tribes when an older child dies the body is buried away from the camp, but the latter is not, at any rate in all instances, deserted, though the hut in which the death occurred may be destroyed and a new one built a short distance away. It is only in the case of the death of an adult that the camp is abandoned.

In connection with the burial of a baby beneath the hearth there is a belief that the soul of the dead baby may re-enter the mother and be born again. This would seem to be one of the reasons why the mother does not leave the camp when her baby dies.

Should a person die while on a visit, he or she is buried in the usual way and news of the death and place of burial is sent to the relatives. A stranger who dies or is killed is buried unceremoniously or is cast into the sea. Among the Northern tribes the body of such a one used in former days to be disposed

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766 of by cutting it into pieces and burning it on a fire. The natives say that if this be done the 'blood' and the 'fat' of the dead man go up to the sky and this removes all danger to the living from the dead man. The blood of persons so burnt is seen in the sky at sunset. If a man were killed in a fight between two communities and his body remained with the enemy, they would dispose of it in this way. If the friends secured the body they would bury it in the usual way. It may be worthy of remark
766 that this custom of burning the bodies of slain enemies is
266 perhaps the real origin of the belief that the Andamanese are or were cannibals. We can well imagine that when, as must have often happened, sailors venturing to land on the islands have been killed and the survivors have seen the bodies of their companions cut up and placed on fires, they would readily conclude that they were witnessing a cannibal feast. There can be no doubt whatever that since the islands were occupied in 1858 the inhabitants have not practised cannibalism, and there is no good reason to suppose that they once followed the custom and then abandoned it.

764 The burial is conducted, if possible, on the day of the death. If it has to be deferred till the morrow all the inhabitants of the camp keep awake. The relatives sit round the corpse weeping at intervals, while some of the men take it in turn to sing songs during the hours of darkness. This, so they say, is to keep away the spirits that have caused the death, and so prevent them from further mischief. When a man or woman dies in the prime of
[152] life after a short illness the friends and relatives often break out in anger which they express in different ways. A man will shout threats and curses at the spirits that he conceives to be responsible for the death of his friend. He may pick up his bow and discharge his arrows in all directions, or in some other way give expression to his angry feelings. On the occasion of a death in one of the *Akar-Balé* villages the relatives expressed their grief by cutting down a coconut tree that grew there.

765 The period of mourning for near relatives—parent, adult child, consort, brother or sister—lasts for several months. In the case of a young child only the parents mourn. The essentials

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The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tǫl*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII.

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages; and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name.

During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain

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765 terms which are used for this purpose, being terms of address that can be substituted for the names that are avoided. Thus in the *Aka-J̌eru* language one such term is *Bo̤lok*, meaning "orphan," used in addressing or speaking of a person who has lately lost a parent. Another term of the same language is *Ro̤puč*, applicable to one who has lost a brother or sister. After the period of mourning is over the use of the personal name of the mourner is resumed.

765 784 During the period of mourning the near relatives of the deceased are required by custom to abstain from dancing and from using red paint or white clay. The white clay here referred to is that called *to̤l* or *to̤l-odu* in *Aka-J̌eru* and *tala-og* in *Aka-Bea*, and is used for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions, such as that of a big dance. Further, the mourners must abstain from eating certain foods. The customs with regard to the foods to be avoided are different in different parts. There is however the universal rule that coast-dwellers must not eat turtle, and jungle-dwellers must avoid pork. Other foods that are included amongst those to be avoided are dugong, certain fishes such as that called *komar* in *Aka-J̌eru*, and in some parts yams and honey.

765 The exact duration of the period of mourning is difficult to discover. It seems to vary considerably in different cases. In all cases it must last long enough for the flesh to decay from the bones. The proceedings at the end of mourning consist of (1) digging up the bones of the dead man or woman and (2) a dance in which all the mourners join. The bones are generally dug up by the men who performed the burial. They cover themselves with clay (*odu*) and proceed to the grave or tree and dig up or take down the bones and weep over them. These are then washed in the sea or a creek and are taken back to camp. Here they are received by the women who weep over them in their turn. The skull and jawbone are decorated with red paint and white clay, and each separately has a band of ornamental netting attached to it so that it may be worn around the neck. Additional ornament is frequently added in the form of strings of *Dentalium* or other shells. The skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are preserved for a long time, and are worn

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round the neck either in front or behind. The photograph in Plate XVIII shows a woman wearing the skull of her deceased sister. Like all their other possessions these relics are lent or exchanged, passing from one person to another, until sometimes a skull may be found in the possession of a man who does not know to whom it belonged. The other bones are also preserved. The limb bones are generally painted with red paint and white clay and are kept in the roof of the hut. They are not treasured as much as the skull and jaw, and are often mislaid. Thus, while every camp is sure to contain a number of skulls and jaw-bones it is comparatively rarely that the limb bones are to be found. The other bones are made into strings, such bones as those of the hand and foot being used as they are, while ribs and vertebrae are broken up into pieces of convenient size. The bones or pieces of bone are attached to a length of rope by means of thread and the string thus produced is often ornamented with the dried yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* and with shells. The whole is covered with red paint. These strings of bone are worn as cures for and preventives of illness. If a man has a head-ache, for instance, he will attach one of the strings round his head. They are in almost constant use in every camp and every man and woman is sure to possess one or two. The bones are made into strings by the female relatives of the deceased and are then given away as presents.

In the North Andaman the skull of a baby is preserved by enclosing it in a small basket just big enough to contain it, the top of the basket, which is narrower than the lower part, being only finished after the skull is placed inside, so that it cannot fall out and can only be removed by unfastening the rim of the basket. Mr Man states that children's skulls are not carried in baskets, except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, etc., but are preserved from injury by being entirely covered with string[1]. This applies only to the tribes of the South and Middle Andaman.

At about the time that the bones are recovered there takes place a special ceremony referred to as "taking off the clay" or

[1] Man, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

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"the shedding of tears." The object of this ceremony is to release the mourners from the restrictions that they have had to observe. The ceremony takes place in the evening, and an occasion is chosen when there are plenty of people in the camp. The mourners, male and female, remove the *odu* clay from their foreheads and decorate themselves with red paint and white clay in the way described in connection with dancing. They also put on what ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and *Dentalium* shell they may possess or be able to borrow. When all the members of the camp are assembled around the dancing ground one of the male mourners takes his stand at the sounding-board and sings a song. This song does not refer in any way to the dead man or woman; it is just an ordinary song of hunting or canoe-cutting or any other subject, though it may have been specially composed for the occasion. Those women who are not in mourning sit near the singer and take up the chorus. When the song is fairly started the mourners, male and female, begin to dance. There is nothing special about the dance, which is exactly like any other dance. After dancing for a short time the mourners seat themselves at one end of the dancing ground and their friends begin to weep and wail. Everybody present joins in the lamentation until they are tired. The mourners then rise and again dance. After a time the women retire and seat themselves with the chorus, but the men continue the dance (in which they are joined by the other men present), till they are tired, which often means till near dawn. After this ceremony the mourners are free to eat any of the foods up till then forbidden, and are free once more to use red paint and white clay and to take their part in all dances and other festivities.

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It has been seen from the preceding descriptions that the Andamanese have a number of ritual customs relating to food. There are certain occasions in the life of every individual when he or she must abstain from eating certain foods. A person mourning for the death of a relative is subjected to restrictions of this kind, and so are the parents of a new-born child for a short period before and after the birth. A woman must not eat certain things when she is menstruating. Restrictions

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PLATE IX

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

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PLATE X

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Woman decorated with *odu* clay

[p. 120B]

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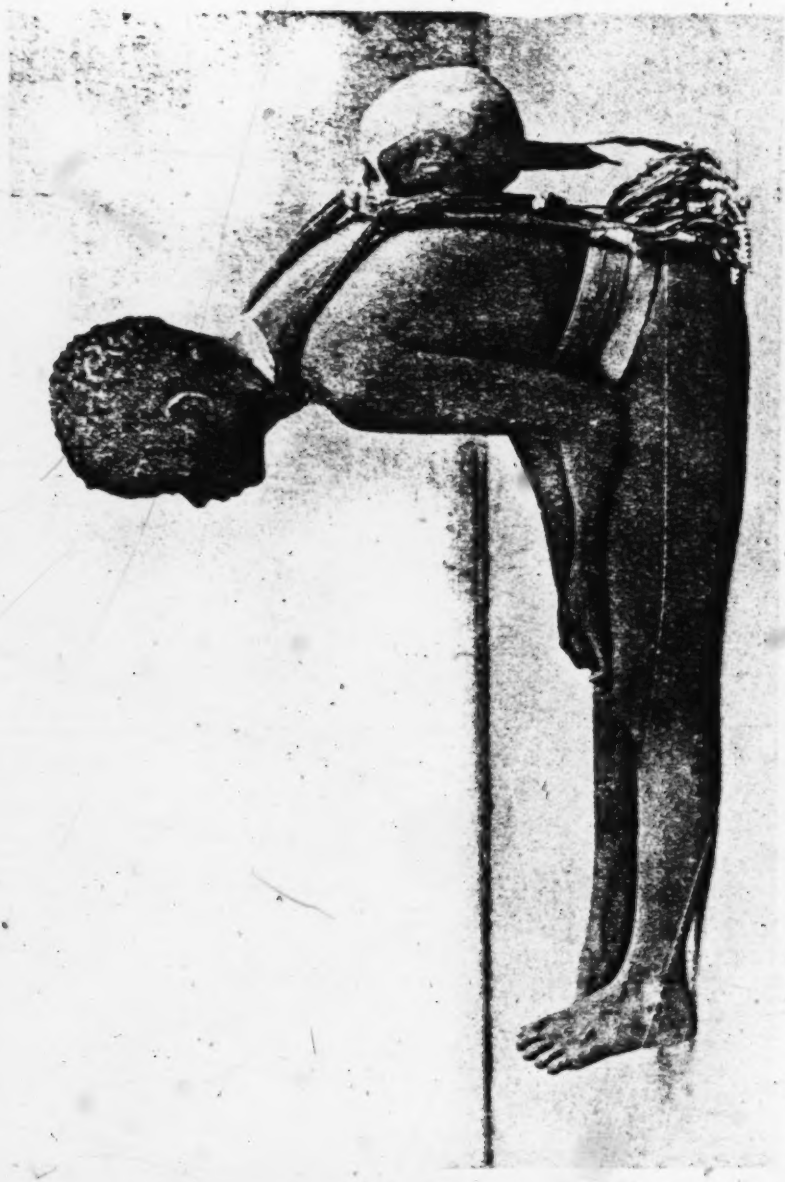

A girl wearing her sister's skull

[Facing p. 132]

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taneously expressing one and the same emotion[1]. The little ceremony thus serves to dispel the initial feeling of shyness and to reinstate the condition of intimacy and affection that existed before the separation.

In the peace-making ceremony the purpose of the whole rite is to abolish a condition of enmity and replace it by one of friendship. The once friendly relations between the two groups have been interrupted by a longer or shorter period of antagonism. We have seen that the effect of the dance is to dispel the wrath of the one group by giving it free expression. The weeping that follows is the renewal of the friendship. The rite is here exactly parallel to that on the meeting of two friends, except that not two individuals but two groups are concerned, and that owing to the number of persons involved the emotional condition is one of much greater intensity[2]. Here therefore also we see that the rite is an affirmation of solidarity or social union, in this instance between the groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each other by ties of friendship.

We now come to a more difficult example of the rite, that at the end of mourning. It will be shown later in the chapter that during the period of mourning the mourners are cut off from the ordinary life of the community. By reason of the ties that still bind them to the dead person they are placed, as it were, outside the society and the bonds that unite them to their group are temporarily loosened. At the end of the mourning period they re-enter the society and take up once more their place in the social life. Their return to the community is the occasion on which they and their friends weep together. In this instance also, therefore, the rite may be explained as having for its purpose the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted. This explanation will seem more convincing when we have considered in detail the customs of mourning. If it be accepted, then it

[1] Active sympathy, the habitual sharing of joyful and painful emotions, is of the utmost importance in the formation of sentiments of personal attachment.

[2] It is a commonplace of psychology that a collective emotion, i.e. one felt and expressed at the same moment by a number of persons, is felt much more intensely than an unshared emotion of the same kind.

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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation.

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified.

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent

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member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and acts as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

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When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

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between the dead and the living, which begins at death, and is, as we shall see, carried out by the mourning customs and ceremonies, is finally accomplished. The dead person is now entirely cut off from the world of the living, save that his bones are to be treasured as relics and amulets. The weeping over the bones must be taken, I think, as a rite of aggregation whereby the bones as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him) are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life. It really constitutes a renewal of social relations with the dead person, after a period during which all active social relations have been interrupted owing to the danger in all contact between the living and the dead. By the rite the affection that was once felt towards the dead person is revived and is now directed to the skeletal relics of the man or woman that once was their object. If this explanation seem unsatisfactory, I would ask the reader to suspend his judgment until the funeral customs of the Andamans have been discussed, and then to return to this point.

The proffered explanation of the rite of weeping should now be plain. I regard it as being the affirmation of a bond of social solidarity between those taking part in it, and as producing in them a realisation of that bond by arousing the sentiment of attachment. In some instances the rite therefore serves to renew social relations when they have been interrupted, and in such instances the rite is reciprocal. In others it serves to show the continued existence of the social bond when it is being weakened or modified, as by marriage, initiation or death. In all instances we may say that the purpose of the rite is to bring about a new state of the affective dispositions that regulate the conduct of persons to one another, either by reviving sentiments that have lain dormant, or producing a recognition of a change in the condition of personal relations.

The study of these simple ceremonies has shown us several things of importance. (1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an affective state of mind shared by two or more persons. Thus the weeping rite expresses feelings of solidarity, the exchange of presents expresses good-will. (2) But the ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are all

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good-will and regard of others, and it is applied to the dead body with exactly the same meaning. Fire and water are placed beside the grave. It is not necessary to suppose that the Andamanese believe that the spirit of the dead man makes any use of these, any more than it is necessary for us to believe that the spirit enjoys the flowers that it is our custom to place upon the grave. The action in each case is symbolical.

X 182 765

The dead man was bound by ties of solidarity to those still living. Now that he is dead those ties have not ceased to exist, but continue until the society has recovered from the effects of the death, for they are based on deep-seated and elaborately organised sentiments. I believe that the mourning customs of the Andamanese are to be explained on this basis, as being the means by which the social sentiments of the survivors are slowly reorganised and adapted to the new condition produced by the death. The severance of the dead man from the society is not a sudden but a gradual process, during which his relatives and friends, being still attached to him by social ties, are in an abnormal condition which may be defined as a partial separation from the world of living men and women and a partial aggregation to the world of the dead (i.e. the spirit world). This abnormal condition of the mourner is shown chiefly in his or her withdrawal from participation in the ordinary life of the society. We have seen that the eating of food is, for the Andamanese, one of the most important of social actions, a kind of communion of the society, and that during the period of adolescence a youth is separated or withdrawn from the common life of the group by being forbidden to eat certain foods. So, in strict conformity with the same set of notions, the mourner is separated from the normal life of the society by being forbidden to eat pork or turtle, these being the most important foods that the Andamanese have[1]. Like the *aka-op*, also, the mourner is

[1] In a number of tribes of Western Australia I found an exactly similar custom. It was formerly the rule that after the death of a near relative the mourner must abstain from eating kangaroo, that being the largest game animal. Since the establishment of sheep stations in their country, with the consequent great decrease in numbers of the kangaroo, it has come about that the animal which now provides their most important supply of meat is the sheep, and the modern rule is that a mourner must not eat mutton.

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forbidden to take part in a dance, or to decorate himself with red paint and white clay, for by these actions the Andaman Islander becomes conscious of his position as a member of a closely unified group, and it is necessary for the mourner, as for the *aka-op*, to feel that for the time being he is cut off from the ordinary life of the group. The disuse, during the period of mourning, of the name of a mourner is to be explained, as we shall see more plainly later, on the same principle, the personal name being what marks the person's position in the social life, so that the temporary dropping of the name shows that for the time being the person is not occupying his normal social position.

The distinctive sign of a mourner is the use of clay, which is smeared over the body and head, and from the name of this clay is derived the term that denotes a mourner (*aka-odu*). It is possible to explain this also as a symbolic expression of the separation of the mourner from the world of living men and his aggregation to the world of the dead. In his everyday life the Andaman Islander is black from head to foot. During mourning he turns himself as nearly as possible white from head to foot, by covering his body all over with clay. It must be remembered that the spirits of the dead are said to be white or light in colour. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the (light-coloured) natives of India are called spirits (*Lau*), while men of such a dark-coloured race as the African negroes are not referred to by this term. The use of clay would therefore seem to serve not only to make the mourner unlike his ordinary self, but to make him like the spirits of the dead.

Of course, the natives explain all these customs of mourning as being expressions of sorrow for their loss, and this is, from the simple standpoint of everyday life, an adequate and true explanation. From the standpoint of psychology, however, what we need to know is why the sorrow is expressed in just these ways and no others. Moreover, the natives give as a further reason for the mourning customs that if they did not observe them they would be liable to sickness or even death.

I have said that the Andamanese believe that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*, but there is a little uncertainty

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in the statements of the natives as to whether he becomes a spirit at once, immediately after the death, or whether he does so only after the flesh of the body has decayed. Both statements are sometimes made, but it seems common to think of the dead person during the period of mourning not as a spirit (*Lau*) but as a dead man (*empilo*). We may best express the ideas of the natives by saying that the process by which a man becomes a spirit is one that takes some months to complete, and is only ended when the bones are dug up. An interesting insight into their notions in this matter is afforded by a belief, about which unfortunately I have very scanty information, to the effect that when a man dies he is initiated into the world of the dead by a ceremony resembling the ceremonies by which a youth is initiated into manhood. In the statement of an *Aka-Kede* informant the ceremony was spoken of by the term *kimil*, which is generally used for the initiation ceremonies, and was described as a *pọrọto-kimil*, i.e., a ceremony in which the dead man ate *pọrọto* (*Caryota sobolifera*) in just the same way that a youth eats turtle (*čokbi*) at the *čokbi-kimil*. There is independent evidence that there is a special connection between the spirits of the dead and the *Caryota* palm[1].

The description of this ceremony (of initiation into the world of the dead) that was given to me stated that in it the shredded fibre named *kọro* was used in just the same way as the leaves of the *Hibiscus* are used in the turtle-eating ceremony. Further, as in the peace-making ceremony men stand against a suspended cane from which depend bunches of this same *kọro*, so in the initiation into the spirit world the initiate has to stand against the rainbow while the dancing spirits shake it and him. It is this shaking of the rainbow (according to my informant) that causes earthquakes. It may be recalled that the rainbow is regarded as a sort of bridge between this world and the spirit world, and that its name is "the spirit's cane," so that it would seem that it is regarded as like a cane with *kọro* fibre suspended from it, such as is used in the peace-making ceremony.

The explanation of the use of this *kọro* fibre was postponed earlier in the chapter, and may well be undertaken here. It serves

[1] Page 171.

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so came to be used both as a covering for women and also as a sign of warning at the grave and the village that has been visited by death[1].

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To return from this digression to the question of the initiation of the dead man into the world of spirits, it is clear that since such ceremonies take time to accomplish there is a period during which the dead man is in an indeterminate position; he is no longer a member of the society of the living, and has not yet become a member of the society of the dead. As long as he is thus situated his relatives and friends are still attached to him, so that he still remains as it were in partial contact with the living. During this time the society is still suffering the ill effects of the death, and the process of readjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place. At the end of it the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world, and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony.

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This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite which we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place. All that is left of him, who was once a source of strength to the community, who had once—as it is here expressed—a social value, are the bones, his name, and the memory of him that his friends retain. We may suppose that the bones still have something of the value that originally attached to their owner, and indeed it is evident that they have, for after they are recovered they are affectionately treasured as relics by the relatives. By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object only of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bitter-sweet. The bones, then, are visible evidences of the fact that the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the death, and this is why they are dug up as soon as the recovery is complete, or rather in order to complete it, and are thereafter treasured.

[1] The brakes formed by the cane (*bido*) from the leaves of which the *koro* fibre is obtained seem to be regarded as lurking places of the spirits. The natives often speak of the *Bido-tei-lau* (*Calamus* leaf spirits).

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It should now be clear why the Andamanese attribute to the bones of dead persons the power to protect them from unseen dangers. Like the bones of animals that have been eaten they are visible and wearable signs of past dangers overcome through the protective action of the society itself, and are therefore a guarantee of similar protection in the future. And as the death of a member is an enormously more important event for the community than the mere killing and eating of a dugong, so an enormously greater protective power is attributed to the human bones than to those of any animal.

The bones, then, are dug up, and brought into camp, where they are wept over just as a friend who has been absent is wept over. All that is left of the former person returns to the social life, henceforward to occupy a definite place in it, and the weeping is the rite of aggregation, the expression of the attachment of those who weep to the bones that now return to them from the grave. The skull and jawbone and the long bones are then decorated with red paint and white clay, this being the way in which the relatives express their sense of the value of them. The other bones are made up into strings and distributed to be used on occasion as amulets.

Soon after the digging up of the bones the other part of the ceremony of the end of mourning takes place. We have seen that while the dead man was in an indeterminate position his relatives were still attached to him by social bonds, but now that he has finally become a spirit, and is for ever definitely cut off from the human society, these bonds cease to exist. The mourners, therefore, who have been cut off from the normal social life are free to return to it and even if they should not so desire, yet it is their duty to do so. The return of the mourners to the society is marked by a dance. The clay that has marked their condition is taken off, and they are decorated with white clay and red paint and all the ornaments usual on ceremonial occasions. Thus decorated they dance, the women on this occasion being required to dance as well as the men. The dance is interrupted shortly after it is begun in order that those who have not been mourning may weep with the mourners. The weeping, according to the explanation at the beginning of the chapter is a rite of aggregation by

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which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Teyat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was till then ignorant of those important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Ċokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Ċokbi-ṭci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used.

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance.

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

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highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

Death and Burial.—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that "no lamentation is publicly made at death," whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del·a-*, just above their foreheads,[1] where it hardens, and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning;[2] should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,[3] the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kâ·pa-*,[4] which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō·lo-*[5]), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat" (Mouat).

[1] This applies to men, for women usually place the *del·a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient "mourning" in the case of other relatives or friends.

[2] The term *â·kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kòi·ob-*.

[3] "If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

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two or three times in token of farewell;[1] then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *â·ra-*,[2] which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

4. After suspending the *â·ra-* the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,[3] generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[4] to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē·rem-tâ·ga-* to abstain from pork, and for the *àryô·to-* to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.[5]

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *â·ra-*. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed[6] from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

[1] *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post*, "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

[3] Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

[4] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante*, "Habitations," paragraph 3.

[5] The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

[6] This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near *male* relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

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the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.[1] The mother, after painting the skull with *kòi·ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *râb-*.[2] After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàu·ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves.

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòi·ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner.

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'ī-tô·latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers.

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ōg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'ī-tô·latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the

[1] *Vide* Appendix B. item 44.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B item 42.

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of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,[1] and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin.

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jer-eg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east.

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *â·ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence.

16. When the period of mourning has expired, the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *â·ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., the reader is referred to an interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., which will be found in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for 1881.[2]

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.[3]

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

[1] They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

[2] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 295.

[3] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 24.

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765 the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period[1] except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàu·ga-tâ-* (*i.e.*, a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

764 21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'ī-tō'latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

766 761 23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *.ē'rem-chàu·gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū'ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

[1] I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life," has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains unquestioned.

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Plate E.

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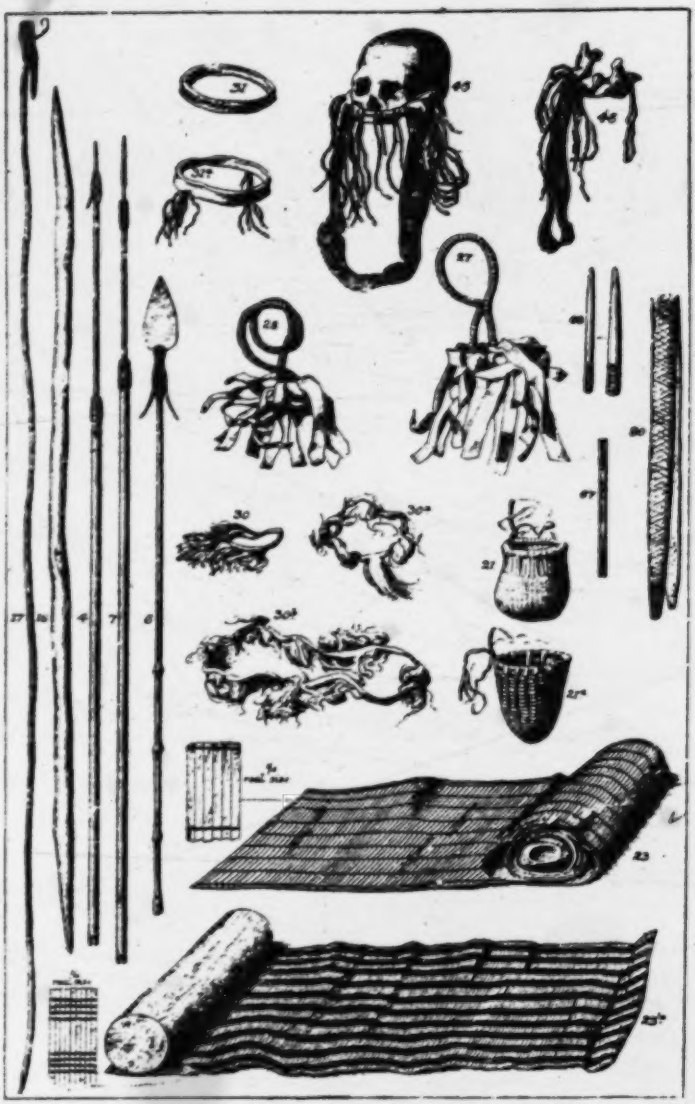

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development. 551

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Beche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Leea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it. 582

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus— 585

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together."

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly. 584

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the 764 765

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*.

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina*. Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quarrelling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

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Plate 2

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a) and *c*) Women and girls wearing *ibidanghŝ*.
b) Bandages of ficus bark against fever.
d) Wife and husband in their usual attire.

[p. 488(B)]

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

rule the multiplication and growth of the various animals and plants useful to Man.

The Onges do not love Eiuga, or any of the other spirits. They merely fear them, and seek to evade their anger by various expedients. It is curious that they never hesitate to try and deceive the spirits and think themselves very clever when they manage to steal roots or tubers from the ground. Nor do they revere the spirits of their ancestors; these are to be feared and propitiated by preservation of their bones. By definition none of the spirits, since they can be deceived by simple tricks, can be all-powerful, but this conclusion, simple though it is, is still beyond the Onges' powers of reasoning.

The Onges' fear of the dead is instanced by their carrying round their necks the *ibidanghe*, or necklet of human jaws, as a propitiation. The wearing of the bones prevents the spirit from going away (by analogy the bones of dead enemies are burned to force the spirit, clearly a hostile one, to leave the place). The custom of burial within the communal hut follows the same logic – the spirits of the dead are kept near their bones and hence near their relatives, to help them in the daily round of hunting, fishing and gathering food.[1]

Unlike most of the other peoples whose burial customs are even today based on their underlying principles, the Onges have not progressed beyond the stage of relating the dead directly to the demands of daily life; they have no 'practices' of any kind, no concept at all of holy places, prayers or images. Even the very names of the dead are soon forgotten. Their fears, however, are none the less very real. They do not like to speak of Eiuga or even of the lesser spirits, for fear of attracting their attention.

The Onges have no stories or explanatory legends, like those reported by Brown for Great Andaman. They have only short epics, if such they may be called, recalling extraordinary events in

[1] This belief is of very remote origin, and can be traced back at least to the megaliths of southern Asia, like the splendid ones which I was able to photograph, among others, in the mountains of Travancore. Here again the object was to prevent the dead from leaving their relatives. Similar ideas are found today in India among several tribes, notably the Munda, or Nias, and among various peoples of Indonesia, and even Oceania. The rituals are probably followed today without any understanding of their meaning or symbolism; the details vary from place to place, but the underlying principle, the original fear, remains the same everywhere.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight

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groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the